

Reframing Resistance: Religious Branding in Instagram Content of @ShejekIndonesia

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Abstract

This study examines how Shejek, a Sharia-based ride-hailing platform for Muslim women, constructs religious identity and reframes resistance within the context of Indonesia's digital economy. Unlike mainstream services such as Gojek and Grab, Shejek integrates Islamic principles, including the avoidance of ikhtilat (unrestricted interaction between marriageable individuals) and khalwat (seclusion of a man and a woman in private spaces), to market itself as a safer and more religiously appropriate transportation option. Through a qualitative content analysis of Shejek's Instagram posts from 2023 to 2024, this research explores how narratives of urban fear, piety, and gendered safety are strategically deployed in digital branding. The author's findings are that Shejek negotiates empowerment by embedding Islamic values into the platform economy rather than presenting a direct resistance to patriarchal structures. Shejek creates a new form of hegemony using religious branding and fear-based narratives. Fosters emotional loyalty and market differentiation but also risks reinforcing exclusionary norms. This study contributes to critical discussions on religious commodification, gendered digital spaces, and cultural power dynamics in Southeast Asia's sharing economy.

Keywords: Religious Branding, Urban Fear, Muslim Women, Ride-Hailing,

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1. Introduction

Digital platforms have revolutionized many aspects of modern life. Online transportation services such as Gojek and Grab have transformed urban mobility. They ushered in a new era of convenience, flexibility, and accessibility. Ride-hailing platforms have also raised concerns about regulatory ambiguity, driver welfare, and market competition. The rapid expansion of ride-hailing services has necessitated governments to adapt transportation regulations, mainly as companies like Gojek initially operated in a legal grey area, benefiting from the absence of precise licensing requirements and tariff regulations. In the era of online transportation services are dominant in Indonesia, and there is an Islamic-based transportation platform. Shejek, as one of the Islamic motorcycle taxi platforms, stands out by offering Sharia-based transportation

services specifically for Muslim women. This platform combines Islamic principles, namely to avoid *ikhtilat* (interaction between individuals who can be married) and *khalwat* (privacy between the opposite sex). This is to create a religion-based transportation alternative. Like research by Salqaura, et al. (2023), the approach of using religion reflects a broader trend in brand imaging, especially in the digital economy, where businesses increasingly utilize Islamic values to attract Muslim consumers. This aligns with the findings of Nurhasanah and Fakhruroji (2023), who argue that transportation platforms such as Gojek commodify religious practices and symbols to engage Muslim audiences and strengthen brand appeal. Of course, it is very different from Shejek, which is more specific in attracting its market. Likewise, Mochlasin, et al. (2024) found that Islamic spiritual values significantly influence user preferences among millennial Muslims in choosing services.

The presence of Shejek can be understood as the result of dominant ideologies being challenged and rearticulated in new power systems. Thus, this study extends the classic idea of Gramsci's hegemony by combining Banet-Weiser's (2012) brand culture theory, where brand imaging becomes the leading platform for cultural expression, individual identity, and social connection. In addition, Jin's (2015) platform logic concept, where platforms function as part of a digital infrastructure that is not neutral but carries political and cultural values. This is seen in Shejek by positioning Islamic values as the ideal standard for safe transportation. As in the research of Cheah et al. (2024), ride-hailing platforms must continue to adapt to cultural and social expectations to maintain their relevance.

Lu and Shi (2025) highlight that travelers' decisions to continue or stop using ride-hailing platforms are shaped by their perceived values and risks, which are influenced by safety and cultural expectations. In Indonesia, concerns about sexual harassment on public transportation and overall safety for women have led to an increase in demand for services specifically for women. Ricardianto et al. (2024) also found that perceived safety impacts satisfaction and attitudinal loyalty among online transportation users in Indonesia, reinforcing the role of safety as a key driver in platform preference. Supporting this, Yanwar et al. (2021) emphasized in their study that perceived risk and customer satisfaction greatly influence loyalty in online transportation, where satisfaction can mediate the relationship between trust and loyalty. Likewise, Rachbini et al. (2020) revealed that service quality affects perceived value, customer satisfaction, and engagement, ultimately forming customer loyalty in online transportation platforms. Despite having an exclusive market position, Shejek faces structural challenges, such as the problems mainstream online transportation platforms face. These challenges include cost efficiency, operational sustainability, and digital infrastructure. In their study, Talkhabi, et al. (2024) said that the future of urban transportation is highly dependent on the development of digital infrastructure and an efficient operational system. This is to ensure long-term sustainability.

Ride-hailing platforms, including Shejek, must continue to innovate to improve their services and maintain competitive prices. With a tariff for motorbikes of IDR 13,500 for 0-5 kilometers and IDR 2,700 per kilometer thereafter and for cars of IDR 27,000 for 0-5 kilometers and IDR 5,400 per kilometer

thereafter, Shejek's system is different from large ride-hailing platforms that are fully integrated into the application. Shejek drivers must deposit before taking the customers, which shows a unique adaptation to local needs, where convenience and personal interaction on WhatsApp groups are prioritized over using their application. In addition, competition from established ride-hailing services has challenged Shejek to continue branding itself through religious identity and ensure safer service quality for women. Without continued improvements in technology and operational efficiency, Shejek may struggle to maintain its market position and expand its user base.

A potential gap from existing research is a limited exploration of how branding using religious identity, particularly in Islamic values, significantly influences consumer loyalty in Indonesia. While previous research has focused more on the commodification of religious practices, safety concerns, and economic factors, it has not adequately addressed how platforms such as Shejek have managed to construct and communicate a religious identity that resonates with specific cultural and social groups, particularly Muslim women. In addition, this study also explores how Shejek constructs his identity toward risk, security, and overall satisfaction, which has never been explored. So, this study addresses this gap by analyzing Shejek's Instagram content through the perspective of new hegemony, resistance, and urban fear. This article examines how Shejek can articulate an Islamic identity through digital branding and how it simultaneously functions as a form of resistance and new cultural hegemony in the Indonesian online transportation landscape.

According to Bonnin and Alfonso (2019), narrative strategy is the deliberate use of storytelling techniques to create emotional engagement and differentiate a brand in a saturated market. At Shejek, the narrative strategy is built around religious values, focusing on 'safety' and 'comfort' for Muslim women. The platform builds its identity visually and textually to evoke Islamic principles, connecting the brand and its target audience. Thus, this narrative approach communicates and increases user loyalty by framing Shejek as a safe and faith-based alternative to ride-hailing platforms.

2. Method

This study uses qualitative content analysis to analyze how narrative strategies can shape Shejek's digital branding on Instagram. From the data obtained, 504 uploads from Shejek's official Instagram account (@shejekindonesia) published between January 1, 2023, and December 30, 2024, were selected based on the superiority of the theme of "safety" and "comfort," which are the core messages of the platform. The data includes textual and visual, including text, hashtags, images, colors, religious symbols, and storytelling techniques. Based on the definition of narrative strategy from Bonnin and Alfonso (2019) as the deliberate use of stories to convey brand identity and values, this study focuses on identifying recurring patterns and structures used by Shejek to frame its services in a discourse oriented toward Islam and safety. Data was collected through documentary observation by systematically reviewing all relevant uploads and categorizing them thematically. The primary data collection tools for analysis related to resistance,

hegemony, commodification of religious values, and narrative construction. Thematic analysis was then conducted in data reduction, categorization, and symbolic interpretation. A new hegemony emerged by combining Gramsci's cultural theory with contemporary frameworks that recognize branding as a soft control mechanism Banet-Weiser (2012) and platforms as political-economic structures Jin (2015) and the concept of urban fear. This can help reveal how Shejek constructs identity in response to broader cultural anxieties about gender, security, and piety in a platform-based economy.

3. Result and Discussion

Shejek is an online transportation platform based on Sharia principles, embodying the duality of how it is constructed. This platform challenges the transportation system that is not friendly to Muslim women while building a new hegemony in the sharing economy. By utilizing branding based on religiosity, Shejek offers a safe transportation alternative for Muslim women. Abutaleb et al., (2021) highlighted in their research that religiosity can play an important role in shaping consumer behavior patterns in online collaborative consumption because consumers tend to be more loyal when engaging with services that align with them, including religious values. This suggests that Shejek's branding strategy, which combines Islamic principles, can increase its appeal among Muslim consumers in Indonesia and strengthen its customers' trust and loyalty. In their research, Bukhari and Isa (2019) said that Islamic branding is not just a marketing strategy but a fundamental approach that can align consumer values with brand identity and foster deeper emotional relationships and trust. By incorporating religious values into its branding, Shejek can strengthen its appeal among Muslim female consumers who prioritize Sharia-compliant services, strengthening its market position and customer loyalty. However, the marketing strategy emphasizes safety and seeks to create an image of exclusivity that can affect accessibility for specific segments of women.

Branding Safety Through Religious Values

Table 1. Data from Instagram @shejekindonesia

Aspect	Details
Data Source	Official Instagram account: @shejekindonesia
Time Frame	January 1, 2023 – December 30, 2024
Total Posts Analyzed	504 posts
Content Categories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promotions - Daily vlogs by drivers (empowerment) - <i>She Care For Her</i> program - Casual talks (<i>Ngobras</i>) - UMKM promotions - Viral trend engagement
Religious Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Islamic studies and reflections - Faith-based reminders
Recurrent Safety Terms	Frequent appearance of "ikhtilat," "khalwat," "safe," and "comfortable" across posts
Driver Identity	All drivers are Muslim women
Keyword Frequency	- <i>ikhtilat</i> : 232 times

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>khalwat</i>: 70 times - <i>safe</i>: 110 times - <i>comfortable</i>: 71 times
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The data analyzed in this article was obtained from Shejek's official Instagram account (@shejekindonesia) from January 1, 2023, to December 30, 2024. The analysis includes 504 posts categorized into various themes: promotions, driver empowerment through daily vlogs, the She Care For Her program, and casual discussion sessions known as Ngobras. Additionally, religious content includes Islamic studies, reflections, reminders about Islamic values, and posts about open promotions for Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) and viral trends to increase interaction. The safety narrative is a consistent theme in every Shejek post, with words such as "khalwat," "ikhtilat," "safe," and "comfortable" being characteristic and repetitive. This aligns with the fact that all Shejek drivers are Muslim women. Linguistic analysis of the content shows that the word *ikhtilat* appears 232 times, while *khalwat* is mentioned 70 times. The word *safe* appears 110 times and *comfortable* 71 times, indicating that Shejek emphasizes the narrative of women's safety as its main attraction.



Image 1. Data from Instagram @shejekindonesia

The safety narrative presented by Shejek can be observed through its posts. Further analysis of Shejek's content shows an effort to instil urban fear regarding public transportation and conventional online motorcycle taxis. For example, in one post from July 2023, there is a news quote from Republika about a woman whom an online motorcycle taxi driver almost kidnapped. This creates the impression that using online motorcycle taxis driven by men is unsafe for women.

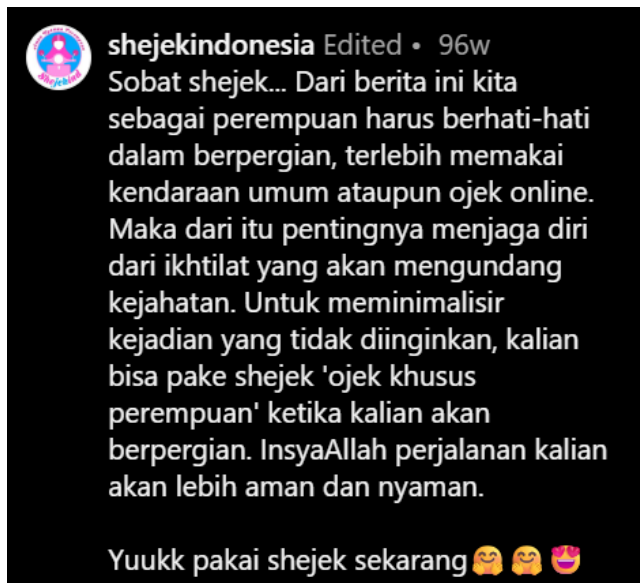


Image 2. Data from Instagram @shejekindonesia

This caption explicitly addresses the audience with the term “*Sobat Shejek*,” creating a familiar and personal impression, and shows Shejek’s effort to build a close relationship with users, especially women. The statement “*kita sebagai perempuan harus berhati-hati dalam berpergian*” raises awareness of women’s potential risks when using public transportation or online motorcycle taxis, reflecting concern for relevant safety issues. The term “*ikhtilat*” indicates that Shejek prioritizes Islamic values in their narrative, linking safety with social and religious norms applicable to Muslim women. Furthermore, this caption identifies the problem and offers a solution by recommending Shejek as an “*ojek khusus perempuan*,” providing a safe alternative that meets women’s needs. The phrase “*InsyaAllah perjalanan kalian akan lebih aman dan nyaman*.” reflects an optimistic attitude and hope for a positive experience. At the same time, the invitation “*Yuukk pakai shejek sekarang*” concluded with cheerful emoticons, adding a friendly and inviting impression. This caption is an effective marketing strategy combining education, warning, and promotion elements, emphasizing safety and comfort to differentiate Shejek from other transportation services and make the audience feel included in the Shejek community. In this case, Shejek allows women drivers to build more meaningful relationships based on customer trust, even though they are strangers. This starkly contrasts the practices that occur in other ride-hailing platforms, such as what happened in the Grab case a few years ago. Waiting or trying to contact customers via personal numbers is considered stalking. Some individuals took advantage of this opportunity to do catcalling, so Grab finally added a feature to disguise customer numbers in their application. Until now, Grab has paid close attention to this issue, which is reflected in their company’s code of ethics, which can be accessed on the official Grab.id website.



Image 3. Data from Instagram @shejekindonesia

Shejek adopts the urban Fear narrative using the phrase “*Pernah Gak Sihh?*” which reflects women’s concerns about discomfort when travelling with public transportation. This narrative offers a solution and empowers women to take control of their safety and comfort, instilling confidence and security.

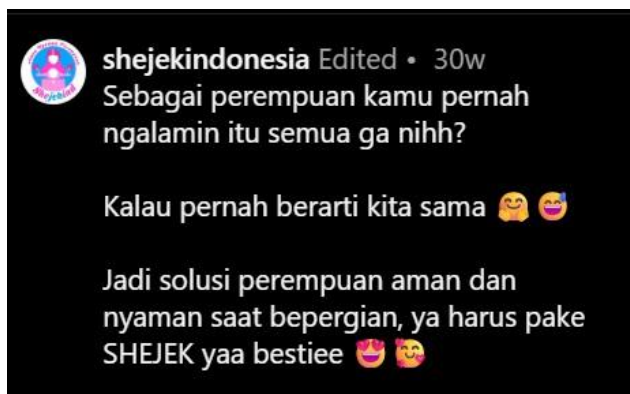


Image 4. Data from Instagram @shejekindonesia

This caption begins with a rhetorical question, “*Sebagai perempuan kamu pernah ngalamin itu semua ga nihh?*” to connect emotionally with the female audience, inviting them to reflect on shared experiences related to discomfort while travelling. The second sentence, “*Kalau pernah berarti kita sama,*” reinforces a sense of solidarity and togetherness among women, showing that they are not alone in facing these challenges. Furthermore, the statement “*Jadi solusi perempuan aman dan nyaman saat bepergian, ya harus pake SHEJEK yaa bestiee*” offers a concrete solution by recommending the use of Shejek as a safe and comfortable alternative while also using the familiar term “bestie” to add a friendly and close impression. Finally, the use of hashtags such as #shejek, #shejekindonesia, #SoluSheSyariBebasIkhtilat, #ojolmuslimah, and #ojekonline serves to expand the reach of the message and associate Shejek with

Islamic values and the Muslim women's community, while also increasing visibility on social media. This caption reflects an effective marketing strategy by combining empathy, solutions, and strong branding elements, making the audience feel reassured and at ease with Shejek's services.



Image 5. Data from Instagram @shejekindonesia

To what extent has Shejek implemented Islamic principles within its business model? While the platform presents itself as offering a “Syar’i Solution,” certain observed elements indicate variation in how these values are expressed in practice. For instance, although many Shejek driver-partners wear the hijab, their attire may not fully align with the comprehensive standards typically associated with syar’i dress. If the brand seeks to maintain strong alignment with its religious positioning, ensuring greater consistency between its visual branding and the appearance of its partners could be a point of refinement. In the third image, several partners do not prominently reflect the visual markers commonly associated with syar’i-oriented ride-hailing services.

1	2	3	4	5
Data Diri	Data Kendaraan	Data Interview	Data Berkas	Preview Data
1. Jumlah keluarga yg menjadi tanggungan calon driver Shejek ? <input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> >4	2. Status <input type="radio"/> Menikah <input type="radio"/> Janda <input type="radio"/> Gadis	3. Dari mana Anda mendapat informasi tentang kami? <input type="text"/>	4. Pekerjaan sekarang apa? <input type="text"/>	
5. Motivasi gabung dengan Shejek? <input type="text"/>	6. Kajian/pengajian yang sering diikuti? <input type="text"/>	7. Harapan/Saran untuk Shejek? <input type="text"/>	8. Apakah Anda berhijab? <input type="radio"/> Ya <input type="radio"/> Belum berhijab	
Kembali		Lanjut		

Image 6. data from the website Shejek.id

Although Shejek requires drivers to commit to wearing syar’i clothing and participating in Islamic studies during the recruitment process, the implementation of this policy is not uniform across all regions,

as shown in the fifth image. This is evident from several content posts indicating that many Shejek drivers do not wear syar'i clothing to match the branding promoted by Shejek. For example, in the fifth image, the variety of clothing Shejek drivers wear is visible. This condition reflects limitations in accessibility to applying the expected Islamic values in their services.

Reframing Resistance: Between Empowerment and Compliance

Shejek constructs identity by embedding Islamic values into its transportation services, aiming to appeal to Muslim women who prioritize faith-based lifestyle choices. This strategy is not merely about market differentiation. It also communicates a narrative of empowerment through religious alignment. As in the research of Wahyuni and Fitriani (2017), religiosity branding can increase customer loyalty in the Islamic market, especially in Indonesia, religiosity is still highly sought after in every product, while Dewi et al. (2024) emphasize that religious branding can foster emotional bonds that deepen user trust and satisfaction. Thus, Shejek has succeeded in offering more than just mobility. Shejek sells an Islamic-compliant experience that builds a sense of togetherness among its users. However, this empowerment narrative focuses on obedience and piety. Shejek's repeated use of crime-related news in its content reflects the concept of urban fear studied by Tulumello (2020). Fear can reinforce the perception that public transportation, especially ride-hailing platforms, is unsafe for female passengers. Shejek positions itself as a safer and Sharia-based alternative. So, it indirectly shifts responsibility for safety to each woman instead of trying to challenge broader structural issues such as misogyny and neglect of public infrastructure that is less safe for women. Thus, shejek's Instagram content successfully reinforces the discomfort and piety of women willing to wear shejek. Shejek's narrative strategy thus reflects a reframing of resistance, where empowerment is offered within the boundaries of acceptable religious and social norms rather than as a challenge.

Shejek and the Construction of a New Hegemony

Gramsci said there is a cultural consensus in building dominance. At the same time, researchers see a newer perspective arguing that in the digital economy, this consensus is increasingly achieved through branding and emotional engagement, as stated by Banet-Weiser (2012) and mediated platform infrastructure by the Jin (2015). Researchers see shejek trying to build a new identity in the online transportation industry that has succeeded in embedding Islamic values into its services and presenting religion-based transportation as a safer alternative. Shejek has succeeded in redefining its identity by aligning religious principles with the modern online transportation industry. This aligns with what Pavoni (2023) identified as the strategic combination of religious identity and market logic to foster emotional resonance and brand loyalty. Rather than offering a radical alternative to platform capitalism, Shejek reframes resistance by accommodating the demand for services that align with religion within a structure

that is still capitalist. It leverages consumer anxieties, especially urban fears and women's safety issues, to justify its value proposition.

This aligns with research by Arista et al. (2022), that online transportation platforms can foster solidarity and shared identity among users and drivers, which Shejek has successfully channeled through a religious perspective to foster a sense of togetherness among Muslim women. However, if we criticize further, does Shejek implement Islamic values or modify them as a branding tool? This ambivalence reveals the duality in Shejek's position. It empowers user groups who feel marginalized by a public transportation system that is not friendly to Muslim women and reinforces it with a narrative of protection. So, rather than functioning as a form of resistance to an inadequate system, Shejek represents a negotiated form of piety that can strengthen a new type of hegemony that researchers see as based on religiosity and consumer safety.

4. Conclusion

From this study, the researcher concludes that Shejek is a digital transportation provider and a cultural intermediary that has succeeded in reframing religious identity in the platform-sharing economy. With Islamic values in its operational practices and branding, Shejek has succeeded in offering services tailored to address the safety issues and identity needs of Muslim women in urban Indonesian environments. The findings reveal that Shejek utilizes urban fear narratives and religious symbolism not only to build branding differences but also to legitimize women's safety solutions that are Sharia-compliant. Thus, it has succeeded in fostering emotional loyalty among its users and building a sense of collective belonging, simultaneously reproducing new boundaries of inclusivity and exclusivity. In branding that normalizes Islamic values as a form of piety, referring to Banet-Weiser's idea of brand culture and Jin's idea of platform power, this case leads to a strategic reframing of resistance. Where empowerment is negotiated within the structure of empowered but obedient women and the existing market rather than being directly opposed. In conclusion, Shejek represents a hybrid phenomenon, part empowerment, market adaptation, and cultural negotiation. Her long-term contribution to social change will depend on whether she can move beyond her current position to advocate more broadly for the safety, empowerment, and agency of all women in the urban sharing economy.

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